

## 25 Years Ago

### APPEAL for General Insurrection

(August 1945)

Dear compatriots,

**F**OUR years ago in one of my letters I called on you to unite because unity is strength and only strength enables us to win back independence and freedom.

At present, the Japanese army has collapsed and the National Salvation movement has spread to the whole country. The Front for the Independence of Viet Nam (Viet Minh) has a following of millions from all social strata: intellectuals, peasants, workers, businessmen, Kinh, Tho, Nung, Muong, Man, etc. In the Front, our compatriots are marching side by side whether they are men or women, old or young, Buddhist or Catholic, rich or poor.

Recently, the Viet Minh Front convened the Viet Nam People's Congress and appointed the National Liberation Committee to lead the entire people in the grim fight for national independence.

Such a development is a great advance in the history of our people's century-old struggle for liberation. It heartens our compatriots and fills me with great joy.

However, it is not enough. Our battle is bound to be a long and hard one. Although the Japanese have been defeated, we shall not be liberated overnight. We still have to make further efforts and carry on the struggle. Only with unity and militancy can our country secure independence.

The Viet Minh Front is at present the basis for our national union and struggle. Join the Viet Minh Front, give it your support, make it greater and stronger!

At present, the National Liberation Committee is a kind of provisional government. Unite around it and see to it that its policies and orders are carried out throughout the country!

In this way, our Fatherland will certainly regain independence and our people will certainly win freedom soon.

Dear compatriots,

The decisive hour in the destiny of our people has struck. Let us all rise up to free ourselves with our own strength.

Many oppressed peoples the world over are vying with each other in their attempts to recover independence. We cannot afford to lag behind.

Forward! Forward! Under the banner of the Viet Minh Front, compatriots, march forward valiantly!

NGUYEN AI QUOC

Editor's Note: Nguyen Ai Quoc was an assumed name of President Ho Chi Minh.

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### RESOLUTION OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE INDOCHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

(August 14 and 15, 1945)

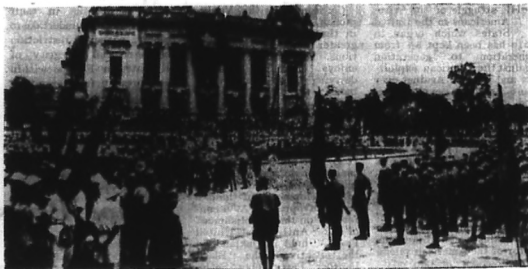
(Excerpts)

#### ON THE INDOCHINA SITUATION

1) Since March 9, 1945\*, Japanese brutality and inhumanity has become more and more apparent.

2) The Indochinese peoples, reduced to misery and indignant, have turned to the revolution and even a number of main-lains have sided with it.

(Continued page 8)



AUGUST 1945: Rally in front of the Hanoi Municipal Theatre attended by units of the Liberation Army newly arrived from the Viet Bac.

## SAIGON UNABLE TO CURB POPULAR OPPOSITION

**O**PPPOSITION to the Thieu-Ky-Khiem regime remained stiff this month and spread to numerous cities in South Viet Nam.

First of all, a strike of 10,000 Lambretta drivers of the public transport service in Saigon erupted on Aug. 5. At a meeting of representatives of the strikers, a petition was passed, demanding the lift of the ban on import of spare-parts which meant death to their trade. The action brought this popular means of transport in Saigon to a complete standstill.

**T**HE student drive against the puppet regime had gained new momentum and always remained in the centre of anti-US demonstrations.

On Aug. 9, Huynh Tan Mam was returned as President of the Saigon General Association of Students (GAS); Pham Quang Hao, elected to the GAS Committee on the same occasion, had been, like Huynh Tan Mam, victimized by the puppet administration which had jailed them for months

on charges of "subversive manoeuvres" and "dealings with communists." Their election by an overwhelming majority vote to the leading body of the GAS showed the scope and bitterness of student enmity for the Thieu clique. The latter was known to have bailed their leaders only under increased student pressure.

Now, the students' objective has been summed up in the protest letter they sent to Thieu on Aug. 11 and that addressed on Aug. 10 to the "Defence Ministry" and the Head of the "Department of Military Training on Campuses": immediate release of students still under detention, immediate end to acts of savage repression against students, and abolition of campus military training.

Earlier, the students had held meetings to make known their desiderata: On Aug. 9, "a bonfire of militancy" gathering 500 participants, and next day, at the locale of the GAS, a press conference, were given to this effect. At these rallies, students forced to undergo military

training at the Quang Trung camp in Thu Duc, and others, arrested on Aug. 5 when they visited striking Lambretta drivers, denounced the ill-treatment and brutalities inflicted on them by the puppet administration.

It was also reported that at the Quang Trung camp, reactionary military officers and instructors took reprisals for student protests by victimizing those students who came there for military training, without which they would be barred from exams and risk being drafted into the puppet army before they finished school. The students complained about the overstrain that hit them, being forced to terminate, in 4 weeks, a training programme designed for 9 weeks; deplorable material living conditions brought the sick rate to 90% among the trainees, etc.

On Aug. 12, at the premises of the GAS, 9 students held a 24-hour hunger-strike in protest against such ill-treatment.

One of the student representatives, arrested on Aug. 5

(Continued page 8)

International Day of Solidarity with Black  
Americans (August 18, 1970)

## A Cause Whose Triumphs a Certainty

THE struggle of the Afro-Americans in the United States which began in 1619 has been kept up from generation to generation against the American exploiters and rulers. Against ever more ruthless exploitation and repression, they have risen up and met violence with violence. This has been the tenor of their movement since August 11, 1945 when thousands of Watt residents (Los Angeles) flew to arms against the brutalities of policemen and racists.

The "hot summers" of 1965, 1967 and 1968 shook the States and were the terror of the American rulers.

Since its inauguration, the Nixon-Agnew tandem has frenziedly stepped up the repression of Black people. But the stubborn resistance of the latter in 1969 and these last months heralded that "new hot summers" were forthcoming.

The Afro-Americans in the US have realized that only by force of arms can freedom and liberation be achieved. They have understood that they must not only battle for democratic liberties and the right to work, but also for the emancipation of tens of thousands of Black people in the US. The most lucid leaders in the Black people's movement are also aware that the road to victory must go through their own unity and their solidarity with progressive White Americans and with the world revolutionary movement against the common enemy US aggressive imperialism.

The struggle of the Afro-Americans in the US is of great revolutionary significance for the liberation of peoples and social progress. It occupies a very important strategic position, because it is unfolding right in the US, ring leader of imperialism and world policeman.

Confronted with Yankee racism, the Afro-Americans in the US are still facing greater sacrifices and privations. However their effort enjoys greatest facilities deriving from the present balance of forces in the world; it is linked to the great revolutionary tidal wave which is sweeping all continents and assailing US imperialism without let-up. It is part and parcel of the Communist Party and large sections of people in the US. As a matter of course, the Vietnamese people regard the Afro-Americans fighting for self liberation as their comrades-in-arms and allies. The higher Nixon escalates the Viet Nam war, the harsher is his crackdown on the Black people and the peace and progressive forces in the US. As the Indochina war drags out and spreads, the toll of young Black American lives increases, while they are badly needed by their own people's battle at home.

The Black people's action in the US has enlisted the sympathy and support of the Communist Party and large sections of people in the US.

The Vietnamese people follow with deep sympathy and great joy the progress of the Black people in the US in their persevering effort. Like the Vietnamese people, the Black American people will certainly carry the day.

ON August 12, 1970, the Treaty between the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics and the German Federal Republic was signed.

Under the treaty, the two parties affirm their endeavour to further the normalization of the situation in Europe undertake to refrain from the threat or use of force in any matters affecting security in Europe or international security, as well as in their mutual relations, undertake to respect without restriction the territorial integrity of all states in Europe within their present frontiers; declare that they have no territorial claims against anybody, regard the present frontiers of all states in Europe as

the continuous growth of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the all-round development of the GDR and its rising international position, of the solidarity of the socialist countries members of the Warsaw Treaty, and also as a result of the failure of the Kotsinger Government's new "Out-Politik," the Willy Brandt administration has had to sign the USSR-West Germany Treaty.

This is a blow dealt at the ambitions of the bellicose and revanchist forces in West Germany which have been fostering the neo-fascist organization headed by Von Thadden and plotting to change the map

the Brandt administration made clear its close bonds with the US imperialists' global strategy of aggression. Brandt's collusion with the United States has been further revealed when he promptly came out in support of Nixon's policy of prolonged war of aggression in Viet Nam and the other Indochinese countries, when he ruthlessly repressed the West German people's demonstration against the US imperialists' war of aggression in Viet Nam, and tried to justify the US aggressors' atrocities as, for instance, in Son My and Con Son (Puno Condor—Ed.)

Fully aware of the West German imperialists' schemes

## Hanoi Press Opinion

# On USSR-West Germany Treaty

invincible, including the Oder-Neisse line which forms the Western frontier between the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic.

It is common knowledge that so far the West-German governments have always pursued a revanchist and expansionist policy in an attempt to do away with the German Democratic Republic and to carry out infiltration, sabotage and subversion against the East-European socialist countries, and check the influence of socialism. For this purpose, they have engaged in an active military build-up, refused to recognize the frontiers which have taken shape in Europe since the end of World War II including the Oder-Neisse line and the frontier between the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic. They have obdurately ignored the fundamental, reasonable and logical demands of the GDR and have gone so far as to put forward the insolent claim to represent the whole of Germany, i.e. to annex the German Democratic Republic.

But under the impact of the deep changes favourable to the revolution in the world balance of forces, of the repeated attacks launched from all sides by the forces of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism against US-led imperialism now being weakened in all respects, and of

and manoeuvres, the press and public opinion in the Soviet Union and the Eastern European socialist countries have, in the past four days, put everyone on his guard against West German bellicose and reactionary tendencies of West German imperialism. The Brandt administration has had to begin facing to a certain extent the facts in Europe, to recognize *de facto* the German Democratic Republic, and to carry out infiltration, sabotage and subversion against the East-European socialist countries, and check the influence of socialism.

However, one cannot overlook the fact that the Bonn administration has recently sent letters to the Western countries, emphasizing the "rights of the Allies in Berlin and in the whole of Germany." Right before the signing of the treaty the West German administration reaffirmed its "right to work for the reunification of Germany," which means in essence the eventual annexation of GDR into West Germany. On August 13, 1970, Barren, leader of the West German Christian Democratic Party, urged that the situation in West Berlin be stabilized, that "the East German people be given genuine freedom" and that the frontiers be opened to "men, information and ideas" before the treaty is ratified by the West German Parliament.

In its programme of action, the Brandt administration made clear its close bonds with the US imperialists' global strategy of aggression. Brandt's collusion with the United States has been further revealed when he promptly came out in support of Nixon's policy of prolonged war of aggression in Viet Nam and the other Indochinese countries, when he ruthlessly repressed the West German people's demonstration against the US imperialists' war of aggression in Viet Nam, and tried to justify the US aggressors' atrocities as, for instance, in Son My and Con Son (Puno Condor—Ed.)

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2-9-1945

2-9-1970

The D.R.V.N.  
is 25  
Years Old

## Some Figures

### PUBLICATIONS

IN 1939, the record year under colonialism, 1,570,000 copies of books were printed for the whole of Viet Nam. In 1969, in North Viet Nam alone the total was 28 million, i.e. 25 times over, dealing with a great variety of subjects.

### LIBRARIES

BEFORE 1945, in the whole of Indochina (Viet Nam, Laos, Cambodia put together) there were but four libraries with a very small readership. Today there exist in North Viet Nam 109 libraries run by cultural services. In 1969, the National Central Library was patronized by 165,000 readers (at a time when many public services and all schools and universities evacuated the city).

### CINEMA AND THEATRES

UNDER the colonial regime, the overwhelming majority of the Vietnamese never went to the cinema or theatre. In 1969 alone the performances of Central Dance and Song Ensembles drew audiences totalling 2,210,710 and film shows recorded 86.5 million attendances. Most of the films were produced by Vietnamese studios.

### MUSEUMS

THERE was in the whole of Indochina only the Douis Finot Museum. In North Viet Nam, there are now, besides the Museum of History, Revolution, Arts and of Haiphong, many small others: the Nghe Tinh Soviet Museum, the Museum of Dien Bien Phu, Viet Bac, Mong Cai (in Quang Ninh province) and some 400 hundred small museums in provinces, districts or villages. In the past ten years the Revolutionary Museum was visited by 2 million people and 95 foreign delegations.

### TRAINING OF PERSONNEL

UNDER colonial domination, there was only a College of Fine Arts. The largest class had 10 students.

Now there are four colleges: Fine Arts, Industrial Art, Music and Library; 13 intermediate vocational schools, including two Culture and Arts schools for the Viet Bac and Tay Bac autonomous zones. Elementary schools of Fine Arts have been operating or will be opened in provinces or towns.

Tens of thousands of middle and high level cultural workers have been formed in schools (3,300 cadres) or in refresher courses (6,700); in addition, there are 500 cadres trained abroad and many batches of graduates from elementary art schools.

If activists of millions of clubs, scores of thousands of amateurs' artistic teams and ensembles, and thousands of amateurs who have gone through basic refresher courses are included, we now can boast an important contingent of cultural workers.

NHAN DAN (The People)  
Aug. 14, 1970

# A National Socialist Culture Promoted

THE Vietnamese people are possessed of an age-old national culture. Original, patriotic and progressive, it has been maintained and developed in the course of a millenary struggle against foreign invasion.

For nearly a century, French colonialism did its best to debase and enslave it. It also undertook a vast effort of obscurantism and dehumanization against our people. Ninety-five per cent of Vietnamese were illiterate. Millions of people never read a book nor went to the cinema or theatre in their life time. Gambling, drinking, opium addiction, prostitution... were rife.

That is why the Indochinese Communist Party (now the Viet Nam Workers' Party) regarded the combat against this cultural enslavement as part and parcel of the national liberation movement.

As early as 1943, in its *Theses on Cultural Policy* the Party advocated the promotion of a new culture with "a national democratic content."

That line won over patriotic and progressive writers and artists. Allied within the Cultural Association for National Salvation, they fought side by side with the people against the French colonialists, the Japanese invaders and galvanized them in the exciting days of the August 1945 Insurrection.

A National Cultural Congress was held in the first months of the new regime. On the agenda were such items as: mission of culture

in the new revolutionary stage, a culture serving the resistance war and national construction with as objectives the wiping out of the invaders, famine and illiteracy. Cultural activities helped push such immediate tasks as: increased production, anti-illiteracy campaign, and resistance to the French colonialists' comeback in South Viet Nam.

On December 19, 1946, when the war of resistance spread all over the country, the cultural workers responding to President Ho Chi Minh's appeal, went into the maquis. In 1948, in the thick of the fight, the Second National Cultural Congress and the First National Congress of Literature and Arts were convened under the "Promote a resistance culture, impel the resistance with culture" watchword. In his report *Marxism and Vietnamese Culture*, Truong Chinh, the then Party Secretary General, systematically elaborated on the 1943 thesis. Culture must meet the needs of the national democratic revolution. Cultural workers must turn to the masses, first and foremost to the workers, peasants and soldiers, and serve them.

Ideologically better armed, artists and writers mixed the masses. They kept up a cultural movement spreading from the northernmost Viet Bac resistance bases to the Plain of Reeds, south of the country. Thousands of poems, songs, musical compositions appeared in the fire of the fight. They were not all occasional

works. Some of them of real value were largely popularized at home and abroad. Foreign works were translated into the vernacular.

Such cultural organizations as the Cultural Association for National Salvation, Musicians' Groups, Information and Propaganda Department, stepped up their activities and so did publishing houses, printing, book and periodical distribution services.

The cinema made its debuts. The first films were shot in Viet Bac and in the South. Film-screening teams, artistic groups and ensembles were set up by the government, local administrations and army.

In short, a culture at the service of the resistance was blooming everywhere and made a great contribution to the Dien Hien Phu victory. With the re-establishment of peace in 1954, a new revolutionary era opened up. The institution of the Ministry of Culture in September 1955 marked a new step in the organization of the cultural work. Since then, this has been progressing with three tasks: to inculcate socialism in the masses, popularize Marxism-Leninism, erase the vestiges of bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and feudalism; to raise the cultural standard of the masses, vulgarize science and technology to help boost production, fight outmoded manners and customs; to meet the recreational, literary and artistic requirements of the masses.

(Continued page 7)

80th Plenary Session of Paris Conference  
on Viet Nam (August 20, 1970)

## THE US SHOULD SERIOUSLY CONSIDER THE NFL AND PRG TEN POINTS

WHILE the American and puppet delegates harped on old themes, the envoys of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam produced new proofs of Nixon's continued intensification and expansion of the Indochina war: all B-52's based in the Pacific area had been hurled into attacks against South Viet Nam; Huong Lap village, north of the DMZ, had been razed to the ground by US aircraft, including B-52's; additional Saigon and Thai troops had been sent to Laos, etc.

Mr Nguyen Minh Vy (DRVN) concluded that for the Conference to progress the Nixon administration must give serious consideration to the overall ten-point solution of the NFL and the PRG of RVSN.



The Yen Lien Thung agricultural co-op, Ninh Binh province, has been awarded a Labour Order, 3rd class, for its achievements in water culture.  
Photo: At the co-op's reading-room.

# THOSE UNFORGETTABLE DAYS

Reminiscences of General Vo Nguyen Giap

At the Potsdam Conference in late July that year (1), the Allies had decided to divide Indochina into two zones for the disarming of Japanese troops following Japan's capitulation. Japanese troops were to be disarmed south of the 16th parallel by British troops and north of that partition line, by Chiang Kai-shek troops. Naturally, on this important job our people had not been consulted. Under US pressure, the French too had been left out.

Yet before the Chinese came a number of French officers had appeared at the side of members of an American mission who had landed shortly before at Hanoi airport.

The French officers were taken by the Japanese to the Metropole Hotel where a number of French residents were staying. The sight of French uniforms immediately aroused the enmity of Hanoians who came in increasing number to demonstrate before the hotel. Defying Japanese bayonets, they cut up the barbed wire before the building. In face of public indignation, the Japanese military police hurriedly escorted the French officers to the former governor general's Palace which at that time was still used as General Headquarters of the Japanese occupation army.

Several months before, at the revolution here, we had heard about the French declaration on a new political regime for Indochina. According to the statement, Indochina was to become a Federation comprising five different "states" (apart from Laos and Cambodia, Viet Nam was to be divided into three states: Tonkin, Annam and Cochinchina). These states would enjoy "internal autonomy." A federal government would be formed, headed by a governor-general representing France. This in essence means that French policy toward Indochina was not to be altered.

Learning of the Mikado's imminent surrender, the French took immediate action. Several groups comprising officers, administrators, intelligence agents in China, Ceylon, Malaya, were ordered to enter Indochina by every possible means. They were parachuted at several points in the North, the Centre and the South. Some came by sea. The awareness of the deep changes in our country had gone through, many French agents got into contact with former mandarins and village officials to whom they showed their credentials. Most of them fell into our hands, some were caught by the Japanese.

A few days after our return to Hanoi word came that immediately after the Japanese surrender, the

French expeditionary corps in the Far East had long before the war ended, was promptly dispatched to Indochina. Leclerc, a former general and an intimate of De Gaulle, French High Commissioner for Indochina, French warships still afloat after World War II were sailing in a hurry for Indochina. From the other end of the earth, guns were being aimed at our revolution.

The appearance of a delegation of a dozen French officers in Hanoi caused great concern to Uncle Ho and to our comrades. How could the French get here even before the Chiang Kai-shek troops had come? What was the attitude of the Allies, especially that of the Americans and of Chiang Kai-shek, toward the French on the Indochina question? That we must know.

In our capacity as a delegation of the people's regime, I and other comrades met the US mission. During that interview we were informed that the disarming of Japanese troops north of the 16th parallel was still to be performed by Chiang Kai-shek troops. We also found that the Americans and the French in Hanoi seemed to dislike one another. While the French were frantically trying to stage a comeback to Indochina, an American officer named Patti, for a still unknown motive, expressed his sympathy for the Viet Minh's struggle against the Japanese.

In face of our nation-wide revolutionary fervescence, the defeated Japanese felt greatly embarrassed. Our attacks in Viet Bac had given them food for thought. If they met their faces against the revolution, what would be their fate after they had been disarmed by Allied troops? The Japanese had no good to raise difficulties for the Vietnamese patriots.

In Hue, on August 23, 150,000 people from the city and the suburbs took to the streets. The Insurrection Committee handed in a petition demanding Bao Dai's abdication. Insurrectional armed forces occupied administration offices and arrested the Japanese. Under the impact of the revolutionary upsurge, Bao Dai declared his readiness to give up his throne.

On August 25, the uprising had spread to most of the cities in Nam Bo (South Viet Nam). Eight hundred thousand inhabitants of Saigon - Cholon staged a riot and the Viet Viceroy sent by Bao Dai was forced to resign a few days after his arrival. Faced with the people's might, the tens

of thousands of Japanese troops in the area had to close their eyes to the demonstrations.

Comrades Tran Huy Lieu and Nguyen Luong Bang were sent to Hue. On August 30, the Main Gate of the Royal Citadel was wide open to receive the Delegation of the Revolution. Bao Dai read his abdication act, handed over his sword and seal, to become a citizen of a free country. An enthusiastic crowd of tens of thousands witnessed the last moments of the puppet dynasty.

Thus, under the leadership of five thousand members of the Indochinese Communist Party, the Viet Minh supported by the entire people had won glorious victory in the General Uprising from the North to the South of the country. The August Revolution had triumphed. In only ten days, a revolutionary regime had been established over the entire country. The eighty-year-old colonial rule, together with the feudal regime of several thousand years, had been smashed. Yellowish flags, a product of



Saigon on the day of seizure of power during the August, 1945 Revolution.

the short-lived Japanese domination, were taken away like worm-eaten leaves, rapidly sinking into oblivion.

The owners of the house in Hang Ngang Street in Hanoi had put the first floor at our disposal. The second floor had been reserved for Uncle Ho to give him a quiet working place. But he did not like to have a whole floor to himself so he joined us downstairs. In those days, comrades To (2) and Hoan (3), on Uncle Ho's instructions, were still remaining at Tan Trao. For the servants and neighbours Uncle Ho and we were "the old and young country relatives" on a visit to the capital. Comrade Ninh (4)

who then sported a thick, uncareful beard, was mistaken for an "old man."

The floor we occupied had been used as dining-room and drawing-room, so there were no writing-desks. Uncle Ho sat before a large table to write. In a corner was his typewriter, placed on a small square table covered with green baize.

After working hours, we took a rest at the place. One of us would lie on a divan, another would use a number of assembled chairs for a bed. Uncle Ho slept on a deck-chair which until then had been folded up and put aside in a corner.

On the very day when Uncle Ho arrived in Hanoi, first batches of Chiang Kai-shek troops had appeared in the capital. They were intelligence agents and members of advance parties. Standing on the balcony, we could see the Chinese troops who kept coming in scattered groups.

It was indeed hard to believe that they were soldiers of a victorious army. They had a livid complexion and a bewildered look. Dressed in ragged, dirty yellow uniforms, they were carrying heavy loads with bamboo poles. Some groups were accompanied by women and children. Many fellows could hardly drag their swollen feet. The capital which had just been cleaned of the fetid smell of the colonialists was now stained by those poor devils. They looked much more pitiable than we had first seen them five years earlier in Kunming and Kweilin.

as possible the movement of the Chiang Kai-shek troops by pretending difficulties caused by the flood to the requisitioning of boats.

A number of Liberation Army units had been ordered to move from Thai Nguyen to Hanoi. Their journey was a long one, as the roads had been damaged by floods. The Hanoians had seized power more than a week before. But the capital's armed forces were made up of only self-defence units and security forces just gone over to the revolution. This gave us much concern.

On the morning of August 26, we got the news of the arrival of the Liberation Army units at Gia Lam. Comrades Nguyen Khang (5) and Vuong Thua Ya (6) went to meet them.

Only after tough negotiations did the Japanese agree to let the Liberation troops proceed to Hanoi.

Military marches were played by an army band when the troops were cresting the Long Bien bridge. The fighters marched in file, holding their rifles at the ready.

The presence in Hanoi of trained and tested revolutionary armed forces stirred up great popular enthusiasm. A review of Liberation troops and Hanoi self-defence units at the Municipal Theatre Square inspired great joy and confidence in the population.

On August 28, the list of members of the Provisional Government was published by Hanoi newspapers. The composition of the government was indicative of the

By a long-prepared attack in December 1941, the Japanese army ousted the British and Americans, drove south, forced the French to open the gates of Indochina, occupied Malaysia, Thailand, Burma, the Philippines, Indonesia, and threatened India, New Zealand and Australia. The invaders killed tens of millions of people, destroyed or plundered civilian property worth hundreds of billions of dollars. But their heinous crimes were unable to subjugate the Asian peoples. The movement against Japanese fascism kept mounting. Led by their Communist Party, the Chinese people offered a long, hard but heroic resistance which bogged down the invaders in the immense quagmire of China. The armed struggle put up for 15 years against the Japanese invaders by the Korean people under Comrade Kim Il Sung was a glorious episode in the history of Korea. The Japanese fascists were beaten everywhere. The victory of the Soviet Army over the Kwang Tung army (a crack unit of the Japanese fascist forces) in the northeast of China, after the Hitlerite army had been routed, was a deadly blow delivered to the Japanese imperialists already exhausted by the stout resistance of Asian peoples. The American and British imperialists have done their best to distort history, saying that the unconditional surrender of Japan was brought about chief-

Viet Minh Front's policy of broad union of all social segments for national construction.

The day before, Uncle Ho had met the new cabinet members at the Bac Ho Palace. Minister for Social Welfare Nguyen Van To (7) related that he had seen in the reception hall his late brother-in-law who was leaning on a stick, his head covered with a battered khaki helmet. Only a moment later did the minister know that the man who was smiling and nodding to him was no other than President Ho Chi Minh.

The Standing Committee had resolved that the presentation day of the Provisional

(Continued page 8)

## HISTORIC VICTORY OF ASIAN AND WORLD'S PEOPLES

TWENTY-five years ago, three months after the liquidation of German fascism in Europe, Japanese militarism, its partner in Asia, surrendered unconditionally.

Like Germany and Italy, Japan was an imperialist country which appeared on the international arena when the division of the world market had been completed. From its outset her capitalistic development went through a process of bloody invasions and plunders of the peoples of Asia, particularly of China and Korea. Especially since the triumph of the October Revolution leading to the establishment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the awakening of the Eastern peoples, the US and British imperialists, in an attempt to nip in the bud this nascent socialist country and the national liberation movement in Asia, lent the Japanese militarists a helping hand in the perpetration of their crimes. The latter were clever enough to rely on the US and British imperialists and to take advantage of the sharp conflicts of interests among the imperialists to expand their influence. However when their ambition to rule the roost in Asia clashed with American and British interests, the Japanese militarists set up with the German and Italian fascists a military axis and spearheaded it against the Soviet Union, the world's peoples and even the US and British imperialists in order to re-divide the world market by force of arms. World War II thus broke out.

By a long-prepared attack in December 1941, the Japanese army ousted the British and Americans, drove south, forced the French to open the gates of Indochina, occupied Malaysia, Thailand, Burma, the Philippines, Indonesia, and threatened India, New Zealand and Australia. The invaders killed tens of millions of people, destroyed or plundered civilian property worth hundreds of billions of dollars. But their heinous crimes were unable to subjugate the Asian peoples. The movement against Japanese fascism kept mounting. Led by their Communist Party, the Chinese people offered a long, hard but heroic resistance which bogged down the invaders in the immense quagmire of China. The armed struggle put up for 15 years against the Japanese invaders by the Korean people under Comrade Kim Il Sung was a glorious episode in the history of Korea. The Japanese fascists were beaten everywhere. The victory of the Soviet Army over the Kwang Tung army (a crack unit of the Japanese fascist forces) in the northeast of China, after the Hitlerite army had been routed, was a deadly blow delivered to the Japanese imperialists already exhausted by the stout resistance of Asian peoples. The American and British imperialists have done their best to distort history, saying that the unconditional surrender of Japan was brought about chief-

ly by the two atomic bombs dropped on that country. The truth was that while in Europe they waited until the German fascists were on their legs to open the second front, in the Pacific area, after being drubbed by the Japanese, they only waged a limited war against the latter. Of 100 Japanese divisions, 60 operated in China and Korea and one million elite soldiers were pinned down in the northeast of China to face an eventual attack by the Red Army. The balance was not held by the atomic bombs which killed hundreds of thousands of civilians at the time when the Japanese fascists were in their death's throes, but by the peoples of the Soviet Union, China, Korea, Mongolia, Malaysia, Burma, Thailand, the Philippines, Indonesia, and Indochina.

Rallied within the Viet Minh Front, and led by the Communist Party, the Vietnamese people heroically took part in this great effort of the Asian and world's peoples against Japanese aggression.

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## The First Election in the Village

EDITOR'S NOTE: Nguyen Dinh Thi, born in 1924, belongs to a generation of writers strongly influenced by the Revolution and the Resistance. During the resistance against the French colonialists (1946-1954) he was a battalion political commissar and had published poems of a new lyricism and a novel, *Xung Kich* (Shock Troops), on the life of a popular combatant, which was awarded a literary prize.

One of his works on the present resistance against US aggression, *Mai Tran Tren Cao* (High-Up Front), has been adapted in French by Madeleine Kiffouf.

Nguyen Dinh Thi is Secretary General of the Association of Vietnamese Writers.

Below is an excerpt from his novel *Vo Bo* (Dykes Break) which vividly describes life in North Viet Nam during the years preceding the 1945 August Revolution.

XOAN (s) headed straight to Ganh village. Lights were seen glimmering in some houses, a few rills near the deputy's house were heard, and there was a great general commotion. Passing by school-teacher Hoi's, Xoan heard the man talking and laughing with many people. She again broke into a run and, on reaching her house, spat out words on the doorstep, not knowing where to go now. Tears again rolled down her cheeks. Oh, how could she do this? No more crying! Xoan still hid her face in her arms.

Daylight came without her knowing it. Look! Heavens! She must cook rice for the men now at the meeting! Hurriedly she washed the rice and lit the fire.

The school-teacher's house was all in a flutter. What was going on there? Xoan heard the cooking pot on the fire and ran to the end of the garden for a look.

In the courtyard, school-teacher Hoi was laughing heartily with some of his pupils who often came to his house for a visit or a lesson. Hoi, with a rifle across his back, was also saying something. The school-teacher was again heard speaking excitedly.

"What a day! What a day, friends! Unfold the flag, and let's all go to the communal house!" A red flag with a golden star appeared amidst the group, who set out for the meeting place. The fluttering flag gradually disappeared in the distance.

Xoan returned to her kitchen, poured rice into the cooking-pot. She too ought to go to the village house to see what was going on there! But what about the rice? She must cook it nervously, not knowing what to do.

"Noan! Noan!"

"It's you, Hien? I'm coming!"

The girl, with her little sister Nga in her arms, rushed into the house.

"Come to the communal house with me! All my people are there now. My father, my mother too! Come, love, come! So many people are already there!"

"But I've got the cooking to do!"

"No, you must go! Do you hear the drum beating?"

All right, anyhow, let's first take the pot off the fire. As she got up, Hien grasped her hand and drag-

ged her out of the kitchen. Xoan broke into laughter.

"What are you doing, Hien? Give me little Nga, I'll carry her!"

"Go! Go!"

Little Nga, also excited, uttered joyful cries.

When the girls reached the communal house courtyard, they found a great crowd assembled there. People were tossing one another, standing on tiptoe to get a look at the platform where a row of self-defence corps members were lined up, some armed with rifles, others with spears. The red flag with a golden star held high by one of them.

In the central compartment, one could now then get a glimpse of the school-teacher, Coi (2), land registrar Xueo, Bao and five or six others sitting around a table.

A great tumult rose among the crowd around Xoan.

"Look! Ton, that headman with a self-defence corps member who passed on the word to his comrades. The men pointed their rifles towards him and a click was heard as they prepared to let off a salvo."

"Fire!"

Shots from the six rifles rent the air, scaring off the birds in the frangipanis and longans around the communal house. The powder's smoke slowly dispersed. Coi stepped onto the platform.

"Respected elders, dear friends..."

He spoke slowly and from the end of the courtyard one could still hear him distinctly. Xoan listened and understood what he said, but the words seemed to be hovering around her, she couldn't remember everything. But what mattered was that on the platform where in former days only district mandarins, canton and village chiefs could come and bluster, bringing word to many families every time they opened their mouths, now that exclusive place Coi was now standing with tousled hair, bare feet, a patched-up faded brown coat, and trousers which reached down only to the knees, just like everybody now sitting here.

Fellow-citizens, please tell us what punishment should be given the headman?"

The courtyard was now in a great tumult. Everybody was following her.

"Calm down your little brother, Than, don't let him yell like that!"

"What he's doing, the headman?"

"Surrendering his brass seal and all his certificates, look!"

"That is the end of three generations of villages tyrants."

Around Xoan, tongues were wagging on, everyone having something to say. Headman Ton, bent in two, had his eyes riveted on the seal-box and the rolled-up certificates on the table. The school-teacher, then Coi, said something to him. The village chief again bowed respectfully.

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## Literary Activities

• A scientific symposium on "Uncle Ho and Literature and Arts" has just been held by the Literature Institute of the Viet Nam Social Sciences Committee. Present at the gathering were literary researchers, writers and journalists. Their speeches focused on these main themes:

- President Ho Chi Minh's literary career,
- President Ho Chi Minh's writings on literature and arts and the press,
- President Ho Chi Minh's influence on modern literature,
- Vietnamese literary workers' feelings for President Ho Chi Minh.

• On July 1970 a treatise entitled *Kien and Realism of Nguyen Du* by Le Dinh Ky, a professor of the Literature Faculty of Hanoi General University, was published by the Social Sciences Publishing House. It is an elaborate study of the most outstanding Vietnamese poet of the 18th century and his master work.

• The Popular Literature and Arts Section of the Hanoi Teachers Training College has recently convened a scientific conference where were submitted such useful reports as: *Some Traces of the Hung Dynasty in Legends and Customs of Vinh Phu Province*, *Some Melodic Problems in Vietnamese Popular Songs*, etc.

• 350 treatises on social sciences have been of late completed by many colleges and universities. Among the valuable and interesting works were *Tu Huu's Poetry in Three Decades*, *Tay Nung Minority Nationality's Folklore*, *Artistic Style in Vietnamese Traditional Popular Poetry*, etc.

• The literary section of Yen Bai province has just reported on the first stage of a literary competition launched since May 1, 1969: 7 out of 16 short stories and 11 out of 327 poems have been given prizes. The competition will go on till the end of this year.

• The Vietnamese Writers' Union is feverishly preparing the first school year in 1971 of the College of Writers for the most talented among young writers and poets.

## An Important Literature Work Under Way

THE Social Sciences Committee has just been charged by the Government with the elaboration of a treatise on the history of Vietnamese literature. A body of researchers has been appointed, which includes professors and literature specialists, under the direction of Dang Thai Mai, President of the Literature Institute. The supervisory group will be headed by Deputy-Minister of Culture Ha Hoy Giap.

Vietnamese literature has a time-honoured history and counts great classical works such as *Kien* by Nguyen Du. Nevertheless, up to the

(Continued page 7)

## News from CAMBODIA

### \* US War Escalation Condemned

THE spokesman of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia issued on Aug. 11 a statement strongly condemning the massive and widespread B-52 bombings on Cambodian territory as a fresh act of aggression of US imperialism. In face of such a move, the Khmer people will stiffen their resolve to fight until victory, whatever the efforts and sacrifices they may have to make, the statement stressed.

### \* National Union Royal Government Denies All Accords Signed by Lon Nol - Sirik Matak

IN a statement dated August 11, 1970, the National Union Royal Government of Cambodia recalled that in its May 4, 1970 statement, it had announced its decision to honour all international agreements, treaties and protocols signed by Cambodia up to March 18, 1970. Consequently, it does not recognize and will not recognize any bilateral or international treaties, agreements or protocols under any form, concluded or renewed since March 18, 1970 on behalf of the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique and the other governments or international organizations.

### \* Khieu Samphan Appointed Vice-Premier

ON August 10 a communiqué of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia announced that on recommendation of the FUNK Political Bureau and Prime Minister Pen Nouth and by a decree of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State and President of the FUNK, M. Khieu Samphan was appointed Vice-Premier while retaining his function as Minister of National Defence.

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## News from LAOS

### THE TWO LAO PRINCES REPRESENTATIVES TO MEET AT KHANG KHAY

PRINCE Souphanouvong has agreed to Prince Souvanna Phouma's proposal dated June 25, 1970 for a meeting at Khang Khay between representatives of the two princes. This was notified to Prince Souvanna Phouma by Tiao Souk Vongsak, Prince Souphanouvong's special envoy, who arrived in Vientiane on July 31, in an interview with Phouma on August 1. Tiao Souk Vongsak stressed that Prince Souphanouvong's acceptance was a further proof of the good will of the Lao Patriotic Front to come to a peaceful settlement of the Lao problem.

It is to be recalled that the necessity of a peaceful solution in Laos has been pointed out by the Lao Patriotic Front in Prince Souphanouvong's message brought by Prince Souvanna Phouma by envoy Pradith Theng Tham in Vientiane five months ago (March 20). Only June 25 did Prince Souvanna Phouma reply with a positive proposal for a meeting at Khang Khay between the two princes' representatives. This has prompted Prince Souphanouvong to send Tiao Souk Vongsak to Vientiane with a message and full powers to discuss with Prince Souvanna Phouma practical matters related to the preparations for the meeting.

HOWEVER, according to the latest news the Vientiane administration has decided to raise new obstacles to the agreement of principle on the forthcoming meeting of the two princes' representatives of the two princes. It has appointed a "government delegation" to talks with the "other side" termed by it "people's representatives". In a commentary dated July 18, *KPL*, the *Pathet Lao* news agency, castigated this an utterly arrogant move on the part of the Vientiane administration. *KPL* pointed out that this administration was set up by a party that was not recognized by the Lao Patriotic Front, since the tripartite national coalition government, set up in 1962, had been overthrown by the rightist coup d'état of April 10, 1964. Thus if the present exchange of views on the proposed meeting of representatives of the two princes does not make headway, the blame must be laid at the door of the Vientiane administration and Prince Souvanna Phouma, *KPL* concluded.

(Continued page 7)

## The First Election...

(Continued from page 6)

was doing his bit, some were laughing, others cheering. It was a din at the market place. Then Xoan saw old Tio rise to his feet, wave his hands, and shout out: "That headman has eaten a humble pie, to let us share his life! But he was very fond of beating people, I shall set up the new administration, we shall elect the village liberation committee..."

As uproar broke out, "That's right! Let's do it!" "Give him thirty strokes!" "Pull off his trousers!"

Two self-defence corps members dragged out the village chief and forced him on the platform. One man seized a heavy stick.

The hubbub in the courtyard had grown louder. At each stroke of the stick, hundreds of people burst into loud laughter, until the headman, dragged out of part of his trousers, his hair falling on his face, dragged himself away from the platform and disappeared.

"Silence! Silence! Let's listen to the Committee men!"

They're going to fire again! Oh, what a day! The volley again rang out over the communal house courtyard, a place where formerly the village officials assembled for feasting and opium smoking and disputing bakings, where people were summoned to be forced into labour gangs or the colonial army from which they might return, where peasant came to deliver rice, pay the poll-tax or failing that, to be beaten, tortured...

(Continued from page 3)

The Second National Congress of Letters and Arts held in 1957 dealt with the following subjects: culture harnessed to socialist revolution in the North, to the national democratic revolution in the South and the struggle for national reunification. It drew clear-cut line between socialist and bourgeois ideologies and condemned revisionist tendencies.

Held at the end of 1962, the Second National Congress of Letters and Arts was an occasion for a fruitful exchange of views on the new cultural line and the practical ways of applying it: "To develop the new culture with a socialist content, a national, popular and party spirit, to master methods of socialist realism, to create works faithfully reflecting the new life, the new man, to contribute to the education of the people and stimulate them to fight for socialist revolution and national reunification."

Since 1965, in face of the US war of destruction, cultural work has been given new orientation.

(Continued page 7)

man, " "If you agree, please raise your hands!" "Raise our hand? How to do it?"

Uproarious laughter again rippled as a woman asked the question. "But just put it up, quite simple!"

Once more, Coi shouted raising high his hand: "Those who are for school-teacher Hoi, please raise your hands like this!"

Amid loud laughter and clapping, hundreds of arms shot up from the crowd. Old folk with deep wrinkles round their eyes, men and women with sunken faces, graying young people, all lifted their hands, to choose a new life for themselves from now on.

Xoan also raised to raise, she too had taken part in the election of the village committee.

More laughter among the crowd.

"Clapping hands was still an unknown practice, but everybody felt that he ought to share the general elation which had suddenly come. He had come to realize that by coming together as they had done today, they became a great force which changed everything irrevocably."

"We now proceed to choose other members of the committee." And the first democratic election in Ganh village went on.

(1) A poor village girl employed as a servant by landowners, a deputy to the Provincial Assembly.

(2) A poor peasant, member of the village guerrilla, who was Xoan's sweetheart.

## A NATIONAL...

revolutionary heroism of the people. The artists performed on the roads leading to the front, on the platforms of ordnance pieces. Cameramen were killed while attempting to record in their films images of epic battles fought by our AA defence against US predatory planes. Under the slogan: "Let our songs down bomb explosions!", a cultural movement was launched in response to the US phony war in Vietnam.

In the Vinh Linh area, at 17th parallel, being pounded by US bombs and shells, a festival was held in 1968, attended by 138 amateur artists from troupes. In the hardest hit areas, cultural life went underground. In the light of lanterns in underground "cultural shelters," the people would read, listen in the radio, hear recitals and see the Young fighters going up the line and peasants who handle the plough as well as the gun jotted down vignettes of their hectic life and translated them into poems, songs, musical compositions. Some of these remarkable names, it is far from limiting itself to clichéism, that culture is receptive to the world of those whose names it felicitously assimilates. Through the achievements obtained, it has shown maturity and promisingness.

It is not the preserve of intellectuals alone. All tellers have now access to this cultural wealth. Their attitude towards culture has changed too. Not content with a passive role as formerly, the masses now go in for literary and artistic productions.

Far from limiting itself to clichéism, that culture is receptive to the world of those whose names it felicitously assimilates. Through the achievements obtained, it has shown maturity and promisingness.

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# Saigon Unstable...

(Continued from page 1)

and released recently, disclosed that 4 of his comrades were still detained in the Hoa Hai jail and that during their detention, all 5 were brutally tortured because they denied the false charges made against them by the police.

The movement of Saigon students has received a powerful backing from the Soviet Vietnamese students in Japan. On Aug. 8, the Association of Vietnamese Students in Japan made public a statement affirming their support. The same day, at a rally held outside the Saigon Embassy, South Vietnamese students handed a protest letter to Tran Thien Khien then in Tokyo for secret talks with the reactionary Sato administration.

**T**he struggle of war wounded and disabled for better living conditions gained in strength. On Aug. 4, in Nha Trang, an important military base 12 km northeast of Saigon, the offices of the province chief were raided by 1,000 war wounded, a number of them coming from the US Cam Ranh base some 100 km away.

In Quang Ngai, 122 km southeast of Da Nang, on Aug. 5, 2,000 war wounded and wives and children of puppet soldiers killed in action destroyed a boisterous demonstration in front of the residence of the province chief. On Aug. 10, in the same city, 500 war wounded assembled outside the residence of the governor of Gia Dinh province, next door to Saigon. The latter refusing to meet them, an ex-captain of the puppet army slit his belly open with a knife, and another war wounded

slashed his own arm, in protest.

On Aug. 13, in Bien Hoa, 23 km northeast of Saigon, puppet troops opened fire on a column of 600 war wounded marching towards Hoa Hai in search of a site to build their lodging. The firing claimed 6 wounded, 3 of them seriously. Their comrades carried them to Saigon and deposited them in front of Thien's palace where a big demonstration was held on Aug. 14.

Similar actions were mounted in Hue in the first weeks of August, against the puppet authorities' failure to keep their promises to the war wounded and disabled of their own armed forces.

**T**he crackdown of the Thieu clique on the press continued unabated. In the first days of this month, the puppet administration seized 13 issues of 8 Saigon dailies. The press, however, kept attacking the US-puppet policy of war. *Dan Cha* (Democracy) on Aug. 4 wrote, "A cease-fire and the US troops pull-out are necessary for the re-establishment of peace in Viet Nam." *Tin Mat* (Confidential Reports) the same day published a poem glorifying peace and protesting war for which the Americans were responsible.

In its editorial on Aug. 7, *Tu Chu* (Sovereignty) wrote, "The leaders of the present regime can in no way break popular opposition with violence, threats or bribery. This regime cannot exist without foreign support." For its part, *Dan* (People) proposed on Aug. 17 the setting up of a "People's Committee of Action against Rigged Elections" in which students must constitute the hard core. The Aug. 20 issue of *Dan Chu Moi* (New De-

mocracy) was seized for having affirmed that "peace will be re-established when we cease being at the foreigners' beck and call."

**B**UDDHISTS' agitation was also kept up. In Da Nang, a bonze immolated himself by fire on Aug. 16 to protest the puppet administration and the Americans; it was the 3rd self-immolation in 10 weeks.

Defying puppet authorities, on Aug. 10, in announcing the reply from the representatives of the RGVN, the RSVN, Superior Thich Huynh Quang, Secretary General of the Institute for the Propagation of Buddhist Faith, acknowledged that the PKG really desired peace and had shown moderation and a spirit of union.

For its part, the "Committee for the Defence of the Women's Right to Live," a significant body headed by a former first lady of the Saigon regime, demanded on Aug. 2 "an end to prostitution the origin of which is the presence in South Viet Nam of foreigners."

The Western press reported on Aug. 17 that 80 representatives of 15,000 "displaced persons" crowded into a refugees' camp in Cho Lon began a hunger-strike and had shaved their heads to protest against the puppet neglect of their fate.

A significant indication of the strong popular feeling against the US-puppets has just been revealed by the Western press in connection with the election campaign for the partial renewal of the puppet Senate: the slogans put forth by several tickets, legal for all that, were clearly directed against the Thieu-Ky-Khieu clique and their ministers: "Yankes go home!", "Thieu must resign!" or "Peace now!"

As Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme has rightly put it, failure of violence cannot be transformed into success by increased violence.

## South Viet Nam

### MILITARY OPERATIONS

#### SOUTH OF 17TH PARALLEL

In Coc Bai region, southwest of Quang Tri town, Battalions No 1 and No 4 of the puppet First Regiment took 300 casualties and 40 planes were downed (August 5 to 13).

East and south of Quang Tri provincial capital, a US company was wiped out together with one hundred men of a US motorized infantry company, some armoured vehicles of a puppet squadron and 2 choppers (August 11 and 12).

PLAF guns shelled two CPs of puppet Regiments No 1 and No 2 and other positions along the enemy defence line from Dong Ha to Con Tien, causing one hundred enemy casualties, and set afire Hill 344 (from the afternoon of August 16 to the morning of August 17).

Nam Hoa sub-sector, 8 km south of Hue city, was stormed: 150 enemy troops put out of action, a fuel dump and an ammunition depot burnt (night of August 6).

#### SAIGON FRONT

In two ambushes laid by the PLAF on Road No 22 (Xa Mat region) and near Trai Bi (south of Xa Mat) 115 enemy soldiers and 46 military vehicles were knocked out (August 6 and 7).

In a PLAF attack in Binh Thuy province against many units of the US 19th Brigade, an infantry company, and an artillery company wiped out, 200 GI casualties, 7 cannons and mortars put out of action, 2 choppers downed (night of August 8).

#### MEONG DELTA

Two enemy posts, about 30 km south of Rach Gia provincial capital, were overrun, enemy rescue parties intercepted, 200 puppet soldiers disabled including 2 "pacification" teams, 15 light combat launches sunk (August 10 and 11).

## 25 Years Ago

(Continued from page 1)

- 3) The anti-Japanese struggle for national salvation led by the Party has grown increasingly stronger and has been spreading all over South, Central and North Viet Nam. Guerrilla bases have been enlarged, the liberated zone and the Liberation Armed Forces established. Local popular power has been set up in six provinces of the highlands and midlands of North Viet Nam. Over a million people now have been granted democratic rights and exempted from taxes and corvées.
- 4) The Japanese command in Indochina has been deeply split. Japanese troops' morale has been sinking. The pro-Japanese Vietnamese traitors are panic-stricken.
- 5) The Allied Forces are about to enter our country and the French imperialists are attempting a comeback to Indochina.
- 6) The whole people are spilling for general insurrection to wreck back independence.

### THE PARTY'S LINE

- 1) The golden opportunity for us to reconquer our independence is drawing near.
- 2) The situation has become a great emergency. Every deed should be guided by three principles:
  - a) Concentration: bend all our energies on the main tasks.
  - b) Unity: military and political unity, unity in action and in command.
  - c) Timing: act timely, not to miss any opportunity.
- 3) The objective of our effort is to regain total independence.
- 4) The present battle cries are:
  - Down with aggression!
  - Total independence!
  - Power for the people!

\* Date of the coup d'état staged by the Japanese to overthrow the French in Indochina.

## THOSE UNFORGETTABLE DAYS

(Continued from page 4)

Government should also be taken into account. Viet Nam would officially declare independence and the foundation of the Democratic Republic. These government lines and policies, an oath had also to be prepared which would be taken by the people. President Ho and the Standing Committee immediately buckled down to the important task of wording the Declaration of Independence.

In a small, dark room of a house sprawling far inwards, in the heart of ancient Hanoi city, Uncle Ho was absorbed in his work, now writing, now typing.

The servants of the house did not know what the bright-eyed, chain-smoking old man in a faded brown jacket which was most the time unbuttoned was working so hard and intently. Every time they asked him whether he needed anything, he would turn round smiling, and exchanged a few words with them and every time, he said he needed nothing.

They were quite unaware that they were witnessing an epoch-making event.

One morning, Uncle Ho and Comrade Nhat (8) went for us. The draft Declaration of Independence had been completed. Uncle Ho read the draft aloud and asked everyone to give his opinion. As he later told us, those moments had been the most pleasant ones in his life.

Twenty years before, he had come to the Versailles Peace Conference to press for immediate measures to improve living conditions and enforce democratic rights in the colonies. But even the most modest demands had been rejected by the imperialists. He had realized that one could not expect the capitalists to do anything out of humanitarianism. He had learned that he could only rely on his own people's efforts and forces.

In those hours, on behalf of the entire people, he was

reaping the fruits of eighty years of struggle.

On that day, we saw his still emaciated face beaming with intense joy.

Recorded by HUU MAI  
(To be continued)

- (1) 1945.
- (2) Pham Van Dong's pseudonym.
- (3) Hoang Van Hoan, now Vice-Chairman of the National Assembly Standing Committee.
- (4) Tran Dang Ninh, former Chief of the Department of Logistics of the People's Army.
- (5) now member of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party.
- (6) now Deputy-Chief of Staff of the People's Army.
- (7) A famed Orientalist.
- (8) Truong Chinh's pseudonym.